

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00
CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00
PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 HA-05 /055 W
-----106586 162022Z /66

O R 161901Z JUN 78
FM AMEMBASSY BONN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9489
AMEMBASSY BERLIN IMMEDIATE
USMISSION USBERLIN IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION USNATO

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E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PGOV, BQG
SUBJECT: GAUS-HONECKER MEETING

REFS: A) BERLIN 4001; B) BONN 8039; C) USBERLIN
1371

BEGIN SUMMARY: IN THE FOREIGN OFFICE VIEW, HONECKER'S
FORTHCOMING ATTITUDE AT THE JUNE 13 MEETING WITH FRG
PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE CHIEF GAUS WAS CLEARLY A RESULT
OF THE BREZHNEV VISIT TO BONN IN EARLY MAY. (FOR BACK-
GROUND ON THE GAUS-HONECKER MEETING, SEE THE EXCELLENT
REPORT IN REF A.) THE FOREIGN OFFICE EXPECTS SEVERAL
SPECIFIC PROJECTS, FOR EXAMPLE, THE NORTH AUTOBAHN AND
THE TELTOW CANAAL, TO BE NEGOTIATED TO A SUCCESSFUL
CONCLUSION, BUT THE PROSPECTS FOR HUMANITARIAN IMPROVE-
MENTS, ESPECIALLY FREER TRAVEL TO THE WEST FOR GDR
RESIDENTS, LOOK DIM. THE FOREIGN OFFICE CONCLUDES THAT
THE NEW ROUND OF TALKS INITIATED BY THE GAUS-HONECKER
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MEETING WILL NOT LEAD TO ANY BREAKTHROUGHS, BUT TO A
SLOW AND LIMITED IMPROVEMENT IN FRG-GDR RELATIONS. END
SUMMARY.

DEVELOPMENT OF FRG-GDR RELATIONS

1. ACCORDING TO A DETAILED BRIEFING ON THE GAUS-HONECKER

MEETING WHICH FRG REP VON BRAUNMUEHL MADE AVAILABLE TO THE BONN GROUP ON JUNE 15, HONECKER BEGAN BY SAYING THAT RECENTLY THE DEVELOPMENT OF GDR-FRG RELATIONS HAD BEEN DETERMINED BY ZIGZAG COURSE WHICH THREATENED TO ENDANGER THE NECESSARY PERSPECTIVE. IN THE FRG THERE WERE THE MOST DIVERSE CAMPAIGNS DIRECTED AGAINST THE GDR. THE MEDIA IN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC WORKED THE WEST GERMAN CITIZENS INTO SUCH A MOOD THAT THEY BELIEVED THE GDR WAS AN "ANSCHLUSS" PROBLEM. IN SPITE OF THIS, THE GDR WAS PREPARED TO CONTINUE TO NORMALIZE AND EXPAND RELATIONS WITH THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC. THE IMPORTANT THING NOW WAS THAT BONN DEMONSTRATED THAT IT WAS PREPARED TO BE AS COOPERATIVE AS THE GDR HAD BEEN. IF THE TWO WANTED TO MAKE PROGRESS, IT COULD ONLY BE DONE ACCORDING TO THE PRINCIPLES OF INTERNATIONAL LAW, INCLUDING THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT AND THE BASIC TREATY. THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT COULD NOT ALWAYS MAKE THE EXCUSE THAT IT WAS NOT RESPONSIBLE FOR THE WEST GERMAN MEDIA.

2. HONECKER SAID THAT RELATIONS WERE BECOMING ESPECIALLY TENSE AT THE BEGINNING OF THE YEAR, BUT THAT THIS HAD BEEN EASED BY THE VISIT OF WISCHNEWSKI. FOR THE MOMENT, HOWEVER, IT WAS STILL DOUBTFUL WHETHER THIS WOULD RESULT IN A LONG-TERM DEFUSING OF THE SITUATION. FOR EXAMPLE, AFTER WISCHNEWSKI'S VISIT ONE HAD BEEN ABLE TO READ IN THE
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WEST GERMAN MEDIA THAT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT WANTED TO DO ITS BEST TO PREVENT MISUSE OF THE TRANSIT ROUTES. THIS PUBLIC DISCUSSION HAD CEASED IN THE MEANTIME. MISUSE OF THE TRANSIT WAYS, HOWEVER, HAD CONTINUED TO INCREASE AND HAD REACHED THREATENING PROPORTIONS.

3. HONECKER SAID HE PURPOSELY WOULD NOT COMMENT FURTHER ON THE BERLIN QUESTION. HE NEVERTHELESS HAD TO SAY THAT IN THE FUTURE THE BERLIN PROBLEM COULD CONTINUE TO CAUSE THE GREATEST DISTURBANCES, UNLESS THE STRICT OBSERVANCE OF THE QUADRIPARTITE AGREEMENT WERE GUARANTEED. THE FRG SIDE ALWAYS OBJECTED THAT THE GDR WAS NOT A SIGNATORY OF THE QUADRIPARTITE AGREEMENT AND THUS COULD NOT DISCUSS IT. THIS, HOWEVER, WAS JUST AS TRUE OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT. BOTH SIDES KNEW FULL WELL THAT THE TWO GOVERNMENTS HAD HAD A DECISIVE VOICE IN THE FINAL PHASE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS ON THE QUADRIPARTITE AGREEMENT. HERE ONE SHOULD PROCEED ON THE BASIS OF THE REALITIES. PHILOSOPHICALLY, ONE COULD PERHAPS SPEAK OF "GREATER BERLIN," BUT AS A PRACTICAL MATTER, BERLIN WAS, ON THE ONE HAND, WEST BERLIN, AND ON THE OTHER, THE CAPITAL OF THE GDR. IF

THE OPPOSITION TOOK CERTAIN POSITIONS ON THIS QUESTION,
THAT WAS ONE THING; BUT IT WAS AN ENTIRELY DIFFERENT

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PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 HA-05 /055 W
-----105969 162023Z /66

O R 161901Z JUN 78
FM AMEMBASSY BONN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9490
AMEMBASSY BERLIN IMMEDIATE
USMISSION USBERLIN IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON
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MATTER WHEN, FOR EXAMPLE, THE SENAT OF BERLIN ITSELF
PASSED RESOLUTIONS AND REPRESENTED VIEWS WHICH WERE NOT
IN ACCORD WITH THE REALITIES. MR. STOBBE WOULD DO WELL
TO CONSIDER THIS; DISCUSSIONS WITH AMBASSADOR ABRASIMOV
WOULD NOT CHANGE THIS IN ANY WAY.

BORDER QUESTION

4. HONECKER SAID THE WORK OF THE BORDER COMMISSION
COULD BE CONCLUDED NOW AT AN APPROPRIATE
LEVEL AND IN A DIGNIFIED FORM. HE
HAD HAD TO TAKE NOTE THAT AN AGREEMENT ON THE DISPUTED
SECTION ALONG THE ELBE WAS NOT YET POSSIBLE. IF THIS
WAS THE CASE, THEN IT WOULD HAVE TO BE DETERMINED IN
CONNECTION WITH THE FORMALIZATION OF THE WORK DONE SO
FAR THAT THE BORDER COMMISSION WOULD CONTINUE TO DISCUSS
THE ELBE BORDER IN ORDER TO BE ABLE TO REACH AGREEMENT
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AT SOME TIME ON THIS PROBLEM AS WELL. UNTIL THEN, THE STATUS QUO WOULD HAVE TO BE PRESERVED AND APPLIED. "AT SOME TIME" COULD MEAN, UNDER CERTAIN CIRCUMSTANCES, THE YEAR 1981 'SIC', WHEN NEW ELECTIONS WOULD BE HELD IN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC. (COMMENT: THE FOREIGN OFFICE TAKES THIS TO BE PRIMARILY A MARKER THAT THE GDR INTENDS TO RAISE THE ISSUE AGAIN IN DUE COURSE. END COMMENT.) BY NO MEANS WOULD THE GDR ACCEPT THAT THE FRG SIDE SHOULD SAY THAT THE BORDER TO THE GDR HAD AN "OPEN GABLE" AS A RESULT OF THE EXCLUSION OF THE ELBE QUESTION.

5. HONECKER STRESSED THAT THERE HAD BEEN FAR FEWER INCIDENTS ON THE BORDER IN THE PAST 18 MONTHS.

NORTH AUTOBAHN

6. HONECKER SAID THAT THE NEGOTIATIONS COULD BEGIN IMMEDIATELY. THE GDR HOPED, OF COURSE, THAT THESE NEGOTIATIONS ALSO WOULD BE UNDERSTOOD IN THE OVERALL CONTEXT OF RELATIONS AND SO CONDUCTED. THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE AUTOBAHN REPRESENTED ONLY THE SHORTENING OF THE TIME REQUIRED TO TRAVEL BETWEEN WEST BERLIN AND THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC. IT DID NOT MEAN THAT THE TWO WOULD BE POLITICALLY CLOSER TOGETHER. HONECKER INDICATED THAT THE GDR EXPECTED THE FRG TO RESTRAIN ITSELF FROM PUBLICLY PORTRAYING WITH TOO MUCH EMPHASIS THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE AUTOBAHN AS A STRENGTHENING OF THE POLITICAL TIES BETWEEN WEST BERLIN AND THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC. ON THE QUESTION OF THE ROUTE, HONECKER SAID THAT THE GDR WOULD ENTER THE NEGOTIATIONS WITH A COMPLETELY OPEN MIND. HE ADDED, HOWEVER, THAT THE NORTHERN ROUTE WOULD BE EASIER FOR ALL PARTICIPANTS TO

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NEGOTIATE. THE NEXT SCHEDULED MEETING OF THE TRANSIT COMMISSION ON JUNE 21 COULD BE USED FOR THE FIRST OFFICIAL DISCUSSION ON THE NORTH AUTOBAHN.

NORTHERN CROSSING POINT

7. HONECKER SAID THE GDR SIDE WOULD EXAMINE ONCE AGAIN WHETHER THE DUCKBILL SOLUTION WAS POSSIBLE. IN THIS REGARD, HOWEVER, THE FRG SHOULD NOT RAISE THEIR HOPES AT ALL. WITH GREAT PROBABILITY, THE GDR WOULD

NOT BE ABLE TO AGREE TO THE SALE OF THE DUCKBILL. IT WAS A MATTER OF COURSE THAT ONE HAD TO SPEAK REASONABLY ABOUT THE CONNECTION OF THE NORTH AUTOBAHN WITH WEST BERLIN. THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE NORTHERN CROSSING POINT COULD BE USED FOR THIS PURPOSE REMAINED TO BE EXAMINED.

TRANSIT WATERWAYS

8. HONECKER REPEATED THE GDR POSITION THAT THE FRG HAD TO ACCEPT THE ALTERNATIVE OF "NEGOTIATIONS OR AN INCREASE IN FEES."

TELTOW CANAL

9. HONECKER SAID THE GDR WAS SERIOUSLY INTERESTED IN THE OPENING OF THE TELTOW CANAL FROM THE WEST. AGREEMENT ON THE QUESTION OF COST WAS, OF COURSE, A PREREQUISITE. IN REGARD TO THE QUESTION OF THE AUTHORITY TO NEGOTIATE, HONECKER THOUGHT THAT THE FOLLOWING SOLUTION WAS POSSIBLE: AS A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, GAUS COULD PRESENT TO THE GDR (NIER), IMMEDIATELY AND IN CLEAR TERMS, THE FRG POSITION THAT THE FUTURE TRAFFIC REGIME COULD NOT BE AN OBJECT OF NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN

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PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 HA-05 CA-01 /056 W
-----106032 162023Z /66

O R 161901Z JUN 78
FM AMEMBASSY BONN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9491
AMEMBASSY BERLIN IMMEDIATE

USMISSION USBERLIN IMMEDIATE
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THE GDR AND THE SENAT. DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER NIER WOULD NOT WITHDRAW HIMSELF FROM THIS DISCUSSION. THIS WOULD MAKE IT POSSIBLE FOR THE SENAT -- IN ACCORDANCE WITH ITS MANDATE FROM THE ALLIES -- TO INVITE THE GDR TO A CONTINUATION OF THE TECHNICAL DISCUSSIONS. IF THESE NEGOTIATIONS, INCLUDING THE QUESTION OF COST, WERE CONCLUDED SUCCESSFULLY, THE GDR WOULD MAKE A UNILATERAL STATEMENT TO THE FRG ABOUT THE TRAFFIC REGIME FOR THE TELTOW CANAL. THE SUBSTANCE OF THIS TRAFFIC REGIME SHOULD CORRESPOND TO THE PROVISIONS OF THE TRANSIT TRAFFIC. (COMMENT: VON BRAUNMUEHL SAID THE FRG WOULD BE CONSULTING FURTHER IN THE BONN GROUP ABOUT HONECKER'S PROPOSAL. END COMMENT.)

CONSULAR SERVICES FOR WEST BERLINERS

10. HONECKER SAID THE GDR SAW LIGHT AT THE END OF THIS
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TUNNEL (REF B). AFTER HAVING CONSULTED ITS ALLIES, THE SUBJECT OF REPRESENTATION OF THE INTERESTS OF WEST BERLINERS BY THE FRG'S PERMANENT REPRESENTATION, EVEN WHEN THE WEST BERLINERS CONCERNED WERE NOT IN THE GDR, COULD NOW BE DISCUSSED. THE GDR WAS PREPARED TO AGREE TO A POSITIVE SOLUTION, PROVIDED THAT AGREEMENTS BETWEEN THE GDR AND THE SENAT WOULD NOT BE AFFECTED BY IT. HONECKER SUGGESTED A CONVERSATION BETWEEN GAUS AND NIER IN ORDER TO ALLOW THE GDR SIDE TO SAY THAT AGREEMENTS WITH THE SENAT WOULD NOT BE AFFECTED.

CITIZENSHIP

11. HONECKER SAID THAT THIS QUESTION WAS A FUNDAMENTAL HINDRANCE TO THE FURTHER POSITIVE DEVELOPMENT OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO GERMAN STATES. OF COURSE, THE GDR COULD NOT PRESCRIBE A CHANGE IN THE LAWS OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC. IT MUST, HOWEVER, DEMAND THAT, EVEN WITHOUT A CHANGE IN THE RELEVANT PROVISIONS, THE "PASSPORT SOVEREIGNTY" OF THE GDR BE RESPECTED FULLY BY THE FRG AND THAT THE FRG NO LONGER INTERFERE IN THE

GDR'S RELATIONS WITH THIRD STATES.

SALZGITTER OFFICE

12. HONECKER REPEATED THE GDR POSITION THAT THE OFFICE SHOULD BE CLOSED.

DIRECTIVE OF THE BUNDESGRENZSCHUTZ ON SPECIAL BORDER CHECKS

13. HONECKER DEMANDED THE ELIMINATION OF THE DIRECTIVE, WHICH HE CALLED THE "INFORMANT'S DIRECTIVE."

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WHEN IT WAS A MATTER OF GATHERING INTELLIGENCE FROM AND ABOUT TRAVELERS, THE FRG SIDE SHOULD NOT FORGET THAT THERE WERE ALSO SOVIET TROOPS IN THE GDR FOR WHOSE SECURITY THE GDR HAD ASSUMED CERTAIN RESPONSIBILITIES IN ITS STATUS OF FORCES AGREEMENT WITH THE SOVIET UNION. PUBLIC DISCUSSION OF PRACTICES SUCH AS THE "INFORMANT'S DIRECTIVE" COULD NOT BE USEFUL FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF VISITOR TRAVEL BETWEEN THE TWO STATES. THIS WAS ESPECIALLY TRUE IF ONE WANTED TO PLACE VISITOR TRAFFIC ON THE BASIS OF RECIPROCITY. (COMMENT: THE WEST GERMAN PRESS REPORTED JUNE 8 THAT THE GDR HAD PROTESTED JUNE 5 IN BONN AND EAST BERLIN AGAINST THE ACTIVITIES OF THE BUNDESGRENZSCHUTZ (BGS - FEDERAL BORDER POLICE). THE GDR COMPLAINED ABOUT THE BGS PRACTICE OF QUESTIONING SOME GDR RESIDENTS TRAVELING INTO THE WEST ABOUT THE SITUATION IN THE GDR. THIS WAS APPARENTLY THE ISSUE TO WHICH HONECKER WAS REFERRING. END COMMENT.)

VISIT OF THE CHANCELLOR AND HUMANITARIAN IMPROVEMENTS

14. HONECKER SAID THAT HE WISHED SUCH A MEETING AND THAT IT CERTAINLY WOULD BE USEFUL. OF COURSE, BOTH SIDES WOULD HAVE TO RECEIVE RESULTS FROM IT WHICH WOULD ALSO BE POLITICALLY VALUABLE AT HOME. PART OF THIS WOULD CONSIST IN BRINGING ABOUT A GENERAL IMPROVEMENT IN THE CLIMATE BETWEEN THE TWO GERMAN STATES.

15. GAUS SAID THAT THE FEDERAL CHANCELLOR ALSO VIEWED SUCH A MEETING AS USEFUL INsofar AS REASONABLE, CONCRETE RESULTS COULD BE EXPECTED FROM IT. THE FRG SIDE ALWAYS HAD TO INDICATE THAT THESE RESULTS INCLUDED IMPROVEMENTS IN THE HUMANITARIAN AREA.

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PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 HA-05 CA-01 /056 W
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O R 161901Z JUN 78
FM AMEMBASSY BONN
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16. HONECKER SAID THAT ONE WOULD DO WELL TO REPRESENT MORE CLEARLY THAN IN THE PAST THAT THAT WHICH HAD BEEN ACHIEVED IN VISITOR TRAFFIC WAS A VERY PRESENTABLE SUCCESS. IT WAS ALWAYS A MATTER OF PRESERVING THAT WHICH HAD BEEN ACHIEVED UNDER DIFFICULT CIRCUMSTANCES. MANY THINGS WOULD BE EASIER TO ACHIEVE INsofar AS THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT SHOWED UNDERSTANDING IN GENERAL POLITICAL QUESTIONS. UNDER THE PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES, FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT BETWEEN THE TWO STATES WAS NOT TO BE EXPECTED. ONE HAD TO WARN AGAINST FAR-REACHING HOPES ABOUT A GENERAL ENLARGEMENT OF VISITOR TRAFFIC.

STATUS OF THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIONS

17. HONECKER EXPRESSED, RATHER AS AN ASIDE AND WITHOUT GOING INTO THE MATTER FURTHER, THE GDR'S DESIRE THAT THE REPRESENTATIONS BE ELEVATED TO THE STATUS OF NORMAL
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EMBASSIES.

FRG APPRAISAL OF THE MEETING

18. VON BRAUNMUEHL SAID THAT THE GDR'S READINESS TO BEGIN A NEW ROUND OF NEGOTIATIONS WAS CLEARLY THE RESULT OF THE BREZHNEV VISIT TO BONN. HE NOTED THAT SOME OF THE ISSUES RAISED BY HONECKER HAD ALREADY BEEN RAISED BY ABRASIMOV IN HIS LATEST MEETING WITH MAYOR STOBBE (REF C). THE FOREIGN OFFICE BELIEVED ABRASIMOV'S POINT IN BRINGING UP THE SUBJECTS WITH STOBBE WAS TO LET THE WEST GERMANS KNOW THAT MOSCOW DESERVED THE CREDIT.

19. VON BRAUNMUEHL SAID THAT THE TELTOW CANAL AND THE NORTH AUTOBAHN WOULD BE NEGOTIATED TO A SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION. THE NEGOTIATIONS FOR THE AUTOBAHN, IN PARTICULAR, WOULD BE DIFFICULT. IT WAS THE FRG'S IMPRESSION THAT HUMANITARIAN IMPROVEMENTS WOULD BE VERY DIFFICULT TO ACHIEVE. IN SUMMARY, THERE WAS NO POSSIBILITY OF A BREAKTHROUGH, HE SAID, BUT THE NEW ROUND OF TALKS SHOULD BRING ABOUT A SLOW, LIMITED IMPROVEMENT IN INNER-GERMAN RELATIONS.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: MEETINGS, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 16 jun 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978BONN11165
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: X1
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780252-0780
Format: TEL
From: BONN
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780652/aaaabsrf.tel
Line Count: 461
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: b52de287-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 9
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 78 BERLIN 4001, 78 BONN 8039
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 20 may 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2327780
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: GAUS-HONECKER MEETING
TAGS: PGOV, GC, BQG, (HONECKER, ERICH)
To: STATE BERLIN
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/b52de287-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014